A Politike Diſcourſe moſt excellent for this time preſent:

Compoſed by a French Gentleman, againſt thoſe of the League, which went about to perſwade the King to breake the Allyance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine.

LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Woolfe,
1589.

To the discrete and vertuous Reader.

THe Author of this worke is a ſtranger, whoſe loue of truth, hath ouercome in him the naturall loue of his countrie, in compoſing it. The tranſlator is a ſtranger likewiſe, whoſe loue of true religion and this bleſſed Realme hath moued him to tranſlate it. The Authors intention was, to manifeſt the great difference betweene the Engliſh and the Spaniſh Nations, to the intent his countrie might thereupon make a iuſt choice for hir benefite and vtilitie. The tranſlator his meaning is, to publiſh it, to the intent the whole world may know & vnderſtand, that great difference. For although the Spaniard be greater in lande, and thereupon maketh great boaſtings and brags, yet is he to be cõpared to the Cipreſſe tree, the which though it be high, great and faire in ſight, is neuertheleſſe, weake, tender, ſlender, and vnfruitfull. The Engliſhman contrariwiſe, though he be leſſer in land, keepeth himſelfe humbly thereupon, ſafe, ſtill, quiet, and wiſe: and is therefore to be compared to the Oline tree, lowe, faire, ſtrong, fruitfull, and moſt abundant. The third and laſt conſideration of the Author, is grounded vpon a farre better cauſe than any worldly commodities, & that is the contemplation of ſpirituall qualities which are to be reaped in England, and not in Spaine, as euery man will confeſſe that is indifferent in matters of religion. I ſay not this to flatter in praiſing and exalting England in or before his owne face: but becauſe I beleeue it, and know it to be ſo. For how can the Spaniſhmen ſay, as the Engliſhmen may ſay with ſaint Paul, God is with vs, and againe, If God be with vs, who can be againſt vs. We haue ſeene the laſt ſommer by experience the true effects of this which I ſpeake now.

Therefore I as tranſlator ioyne willingly with the Author, and do conclude with this preface, as hee doth with his diſ-

course: and say that the Spanish nation, is at hir highest degree, and shalt therefore no more ascende but descend: Beeause she goeth about not only to take and inuade hir neighbours countries, but she dare say, she will haue the fist Monarchie, that only appertaineth to Iesus Christ, who will giue it to whom it pleaseth him, and will not giue it vnto them: but I dare say he will giue it vnto Englishmen, which haue receiued him, and he wil be with them still so long as they liue according to his holy will.

I do not speake of things done this day, yesterday, or the day before, but by experience and obseruation of yeares more than one score. Therefore if England doth consider the multitude, the strength, the good, or euill will of his enimies, he will beginne to perceiue what I meane, and say as I say. Againe if he entred into consideration of the great number & strong benefites which the Almightie God hath doone vnto him through his mercie and good wil, vnder the blessed protection (of his most precious maide seruant, his most tender and deare nurse of his Church) our most gratious Soueraine Queene Elizabeth, he will say as I say. I can go no further vnlesse I would make of my preface a discourse, which should be out of my purpose: I will therfore conclude with my prayers, and beseech the Almightie God to defende from all enemies his holy vniuersall Church, the Queenes Maiestie, hir most honorable Councell, this blessed Realme and people, and keepe vs all in peace in Christ our Lord, so be it.

Francis Mar.

A proofe, that the friendſhip and league with *England, is more behoofefull to France, then the League of Spaine.*

Sylla (a Romane Captaine) intending to perſwade *Bocchus* to the betraying, which hee practiſed, of *Iugurth*, grounded chiefely his perſwaſion vpon this point, that a man had neuer friends enough. A thing which common and ordinarie experience maketh ſo ſenſible, both to our feeling, & to our ſight, that whoſoeuer would call in queſtion, or impugne that caſe, ſhoulde but ſhewe himſelfe voide of iudgement, and common ſenſe. Therefore it is, that in our French language, there is this common prouerbe: that he which hath a good neighbor, hath a good morning: aduerſing vs thereby, that hee which mainteineth himſelfe well with his neighbors, hath taken the beſt way that he coulde deuiſe, for the eſtate of his particular buſineſſe. Saluſt, in the warres of Iugurth.

For as there is nothing more grieuous for a man, than to ſee himſelfe pinched by thoſe, at whoſe hande hee looketh for fauour and comfort in his aduerſitie. So is there no greater contentment, than to ſee himſelfe ſo well tendred and cheriſhed of his neighbours, as it may bee a witneſſe of his good behauiour among them. The which thing conſidered, thoſe learned men, that by their writings haue traced vs out the way of vertue, haue made ſo great account of the regard that is due to good neighbors, that in ſome reſpect, they haue preferred it before the ſame which is due vnto kinsfolke and allyes. That great and wiſe Captaine *Themiſtocles*, ſhewed ſometimes to haue right well vnderſtood this point: for cauſing one of his Heſiodus in his booke of workes and dayes.

Cicero in his firſt booke of dueties.

 inhe-

inheritances to bee ſolde by the cryer, hee commaunded him to ſay, and proclaime it alowde (to the intent, hee might put it to greater priſe,) that it was well neighboured. Nowe, if in particular thinges, the reſpect of neighbourhood ought to bee in ſuch recommendation to vs: how much more I pray you, ought it ſo to doo, in the diſpoſing of matters of ſtate? Who is ſo ignorant a man, of the affaires of this worlde, that hee knoweth not howe the neighbourhoode of the *Bulgarians*, cauſed the entering, and deſcending of the *Turke* into *Greece*, and opened them the way to ſeiſe vppon that which they holde at this day in *Europe*?

The like may bee ſaide, in the ſame regard of *Italie*: for the affaires of the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Genenoies*, and *Neapolitans*, were not troubled, but by the malice of one of their neighbours: to wit, *Lewis Sforce*, vſurper of the ſtate of *Milaine*: who for the ſatisfying of his owne priuate affections, made no conſcience to trouble the quiet ſtate, which *Italie* had ſo long enioyed by the wiſedome of *Laurence* of *Medicis*: and to make his countrie a pray to the wars and violences of the French-men.

On the contrarie part, if we regard neerely the ſtate of things paſt, we ſhall finde, that manie of the greateſt houſes of *Germanie*, haue beene by the good foreſight, and heartie affection of their neighbours, preſerued from the ouerturning, wherewith the common rage menaced them. In the time of our fathers: to wit, in the yeare of our Lord, 1504. *Philip* Conte *Palatine*, fell at variance with the Emperor *Maximilian*; and hauing the end of his caſe, as little proſperitie, as the enterpriſe thereof had right: hee was outlawed by the ſtates of the Empire, and brought to a great perplexitie.

But *Frederike*, Duke of *Saxonie*, his next neighbour, a Prince of great wit and skill, handled this matter ſo mildelie, that all the ſtorme turned into a calme, and pleaſant tranquilitie. Wherein, notwithſtanding, I thinke not, that Princes can pretend any aduantage vpon the ſtates of Ariſtocratie and popularitie. All men know, how that about fourtie yeares paſt, *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy* inuaded *Geneua*: the

the poſſeſsion and dominion whereof, hee had left to his ſucceſſors, if they of *Frybourge*, being neighbors and allyated with the Geneuians, had not made him to leaue off, and to let go his pray, which hee had as it were betweene his teeth.

I alleage theſe familiar examples, and of freſh date, leaſt I ſhoulde reſt too much vppon thoſe of olde time: and ſpeciallie of the common weale of *Athens*, who alwayes profeſſed to releeue their neighbors, that were caſt downe by anie hard ouerthrowe. Whereof the ſetting vp againe of *Thebes*, will ſerue for a ſufficient recorde and witneſſe, ſo long as mans life ſhall haue the good happe to bee inlightned with the light of good learning. Thus may you ſee then, verie pertinent reaſons, to make vs to vnderſtand howe carefullie the ſtates and gouernements ought to be vnderpropped with the friendſhip and faithfulneſſe of their neighbours. But foraſmuch as this is a point of great importance, ſo it required a deepe and ripe conſideration: for men which are leſſe experimented and practiſed in worldly affaires, doo ſuffer themſelues ſo much the more eaſily to be deceiued: ſpecially when vaine outward ſhewe can apparell and decke her ſelfe, with the glittering gloſe of ſubſtantiall profite.

And to manifeſt the matter by example, and by the ſetting downe of one particular deede, to open the way to the deciding of a generalitie, I will ſpeake of that which more neerely concerned the diſpoſement of our owne affaires. There is no man ſo blinde, of any vnderſtanding, which doth not ſee and perceiue the poore and miſerable ſtate wherein the Realme of *France*, hauing loſt his ancient beautie, is nowe brought at this day, by the long continuance and ſharpeneſſe of ciuill warres. All men confeſſe that ſhee hath neede of a reſtoratiue to recouer her againe from ſo dangerous a diſeaſe: neuertheleſſe all do not agree vpon the confection, and the ingredients that are now fit and ſortable to ſuch a reſtoratiue. But yet ſo it falleth out, that thoſe which by reaſon of their dealings in worldly affaires, haue attained to a greater experience than other, do come vnto this point: that according vn-

to the order of good Phisitions, the disease is to bee cured by his contraries. And therefore, in as much as the disease of *France* proceedeth but of vnquietnesse: that there is no better way to establish her againe in her former state of health, than a good and sure rest: an aduice in my iudgemement, much better grounded in reason, than plainely discoursed. And that it is so, when question is concerning the quieting of our countrie: that man were too farre ouerseene, which woulde inclose it within the circuit of *France*: hauing no farther regarde or care, howe farre shee were at oddes, or howe shee fared with her neighbours, so the inhabitantes of the Realme may liue in peace among themselues, and that the fire of ciuill wars be quenched.

And although, I must roundly confesse, that they being brought vppon the falling into the one of the two inconueniences: there is no forraine warre, howe harde and daungerous soeuer it bee, which ought not to bee vndertaken, if by the same countrie it may bee saued from ciuill warre: yet notwithstanding, the full and perfite prosperitie of a state consisted in being exempted from both those inconueniences: vnlesse wee doo esteeme our age to bee priuiledged with such a fauour, that wee may haue warre without the appertenances thereof: that is to wit, without miserie and pouertie. They then which procure the quietnesse and welfare of our *France*, must aime at this marke, that not onely all ciuill broiles bee quenched, but also that shee mainteine her selfe in good order with her neighbours. And speciallie with those, whose allyance is most commodious, and most assured vnto her: which is a point in my iudgement, as needefull to obtaine, as hard to be decided, by reason of the diuersitie of mens affections: and of those which professe to preferre their owne peculiar profite, before the welfare and commoditie of the common weale.

But yet, if in the handling of this matter, we doo bring none other pasion with vs, than the earnest loue of trueth, and of our owne natiue countrie, there would be no great a doo in discussing of this difficultie. And doo not

not thinke (all account made and rebated, whether it bee considered whole togither, or whether there bee had any particular respect to the present time) that there be any of our neighbours, whereof the alliance be so commodious and behoofefull to vs, as the same of the Englishmen. And on the other side, I am of opinion, that he which in matters of state, would treate of the common errors, could not chose a fairer argument, than to show that those which ordinarily do call the Englishmen, the ancient enemies of the state and crowne of *France*, meaning to purchase to themselues estimation of learning among the ignorant, do discouer themselues vtterly ignorant among the learned. And because many Courtiers whome I haue heard discourse of this matter proceede so farre, that they preferre the allyance with *Spaine* before all others, hauing (as they say) a speciall regarde to the benefite and welfare of *France*, I will debate that question, which in my iudgement hath no better grounde than partiall affection, or on too much superficiall knowledge of the affaires of this worlde. I hope therefore to show by apparant reason, that the alliance with *England* is to vs much more behoofefull, than the allyance with *Spaine*: and by the selfe same means to auoide the generall propofition, and to proue that there is no people in the worlde, whose allyaunce is so commodious and necessarie for vs, as those of *England*. And to lay a foundation to mine opinion, I say that whensoeuer question is to be had of allyaunce with any people, regard is to be had chiefely of two thinges: the one, that those whose allyaunce wee preferre, may haue the most occasions and meanes to succour vs: the other, that they haue likewise most meanes to annoy vs, being become our enimies. And which is (I pray you) the people in the worlde, which hath iuster cause to loue vs than the Englishmē? who is so allyed to vs in bloud, conformable in conditions, and brotherlike in vertuous inclinations? the which I vnderstande not only to say of the Englishmen, whom we so call at this day, but also of the ancient Britaines, of whom there is yet to be seene a remnant in the country of Walles: who notwithstanding they resemble in manners, customes, and vsages

the other people of *Englande*, yet doo they differ from them in language. *Iulius Cæſar*, who was the firſt amongeſt the Romane Captaines that diſcouered, and had knowledge of the ſtate of this Ile: teaching vs, that that one part of the Britains, which bordered vpon the ſea, tooke their originall from the Lowe Countries of *Germanie*: the ſame Author hath left vnto vs in writing, that in his time the king of *Soyſſons* named *Diuitiacus*, had alſo commanded to the ſtate of great Britaine: and therefore it is no maruell, though the Britaines, (eſpecially thoſe which inhabite about Kent) did agree in humanitie, and in manners of life, with the Gauls.

Cæſar in his firſt booke of his warres in Gallia.

Cæſar in his ſecond booke of his warres in Gallia.

And indeede, if we will take the right thereof by that we finde in writing, none can be ſaid to be more brotherlike, than theſe two nations. And without proceeding ſo farre, as to ſearch out euery point by himſelfe, I will ſpeake only of the *Druydes*, who had in olde time the handling of all matters in both theſe Nations.

Theſe *Druydes* were Poetes and Prieſtes, as there was in old time one *Heſiodus* in *Greece*. It is a certaine thing that the firſt among the Grecians which innobled their countrie with the knowledge of learning, cõprehended all their doctrine in verſes: as *Homerus*, *Heſiodus*, *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Linus*, *Empedocles*, *Parmenides*: yea and euen *Pitheus*, of whom *Plutarch* maketh mention. In reſpect whereof *Plato* attributed ſo much vnto Poets, that he called them the fathers, and chiefeſt of wiſedome. For the *Druydes*, were alſo Mathematicians and Philoſophers: which is the cauſe that I cannot well conceiue what *Cicero* meant, in comparing the Britaines and Scythians together, in reſpect of ignorance of the Mathematicall arts.

Plutarch in the life of Thæſeus.

Plato in his Lycidas.

Cicero in his ſecond booke of the nature of the Goddes

If he referred him to the record of his familiar friend *Trebatius*, euery one knoweth to haue beene ſuch a witnes (as may be gathered out of *Cicero* his own writings) that liked better to behold a ſtorehouſe of victuals, thã the cõtemplation of the ſtarres. But it ſeemeth that *Cicero*, which otherwiſe was a man of exquiſite iudgement, would verifie the ſaying of *Thales* the *Mileſian*, who beeing demaunded of, howe much the truth is different from the vntruth: euen

as

as much (quoth he) as the eyes from the eares: likewise may we say in respect of the matter that we haue in hande, that we finde eyes in *Cæsar*, and eares in *Cicero*. Now whether the Britaines tooke the knowledge of learning from the Galles, or the Galles from the Britaines: so much it is, that the youngmen of *Gauland*, (for the more furtherance of their studies transported them into *Britaine* vnto the *Druydes* of that countrie, at whose handes they learned the most hidden secrets of Philosophie, and of Mathematicall sciences. If we will stande to the report of *Cæsars* writinges thereof, the Philosophie and doctrine of the *Druydes* had his beginning in great *Britaine*: which opinion I willingly imbrace, notwithstanding, that the excellent and rare learned man *Petrus Ramus*, seemeth to holde the contrarie in some writings of his. Therefore it is no maruell, though so learned a Nation, and so well trayned in good sciences, hath beene indewed with an humanitie answerable to their skill, and whereof our *Gaulles* haue reaped the chiefe fruite thereof. In so much that *Cæsar* being about to passe ouer into *Britaine*, brought forth no other pretence of his voyage thether, but only that the *Gaulles* had bin succoured of the *Britains* in all the quarrels which they had to deale against the *Romanes*. And if any man thinke that the people which since *Cæsars* time, haue seised the countries of *Gallia & Britania*, that is to say, the Englishmen & Frenchmen, haue beene knit in looser friendship, or haue lesse cause of mutual intertaining one an other, he deceiued himselfe as much as hee that is ignorant, how great force is in friendship grounded vpon naturall alliance, whereof the remembrance can not be buried, neyther by processe of time, nor distance of places. The Citizens of *Sais* in *Ægypt*, sayd that their citie was founded by the Goddesse *Minerua*, as so likewise did the *Athenians*. In consideration of which allyance, as *Plato* witnessed, the *Greekes* generally, and the *Athenians* specially, were welcome, and very much made of at *Sais*. Therefore it remaineth to be considered, howe straightly the Frenchmen are vnited with the Englishmen, and what show of friendshippe they haue made at all times, the one vnto the other: neither is it to be sayde, that they haue had

Ramus in his booke of the manners of ancient Gauls.

Cæsar in his fourth booke of his watres in Gallia.

Plato in his Timæus.

had great and long warres betwixt them, yea euen within the remembrance of our great grandfathers.

For by that reaſon, we muſt baniſh friendſhippe from among all nations of the earth: and by the ſelfeſame reaſon we muſt conclude, that there can be no friendſhippe euen among the Frenchmen themſelues, the which of late daies haue ſet vp in their owne countrie, a ſcafolde of the bloudieſt tragedie that euer was heard of. And as touching the warres betweene the *E*nglishmen and the Frenchmen, I hope to ſhow hereafter in dewe place, that ſo farre it is that that conſideration ought to bring any alteration to the friendſhip betweene them & vs, that in contrarie, it ought rather to he a verie ſtrong inducement vnto vs, to ingender ſome increaſe of goodwill on our parts towards them. For God hauing giuen them ſo great aduantages ouer vs, as euery one knowes, it is harde to be ſaide, whether that noble nation hath ſhewed hir ſelfe more valiant in battaile, than milde and gentle after the victorie. Much leſſe are to the purpoſe the rude ſpeeches which may be heard in the ſtreetes, as well in *France* as in *Englande*, as among others are theſe engliſh wordes, Cullion, Frenchdogge: which is the rethoricke of pedlers, coblers, beggars, and other people of the like ſtampe, and not the ſpeeches of the honeſt, and ciuill ſort, whereof wee intende to ſpeake in this diſcourſe: leauing aſide all theſe toyes, let vs ſpeake of the kindely amitie that is betweene theſe two Nations. In the time of the *E*mperour *Martian* and *Valentinian*, about the yeare of Chriſt, 449. *Witigerne* King of great *Britaine*, being in will to beate backe the Picts and Scots, called to his aide the Angles or *E*nglishmen, who at that time dwelt among the Vites and Saxons: and indeede the Welchmen do ſtill at this day call the *E*nglishmen, Saſſes, as if one would ſay, Saxons, the which hath beene told me for a certainetie by ſome learned men of that countrie. It followeth then vpon this diſcourſe, that the *E*nglishmen are come of the Almaynes, as alſo are the Frenchmen, according as our Hiſtorians do report. And although, that as touching the french Nation, I dare not vpholde that they are deſcended of the Saxons; yet notwithſtanding, the houſe of the kings, which

at

at this day cómandeth in *France*, fetched his originall from thence, as they can teli which haue the moſt perfect knowledge of the hiſtorie. For *Windekinde* a Saxon, of the line of the great *Windekind* ſubdued by *Charlemayne*, came into *France* to the ſuccor of *Charles* the balde, which was greatly diſquieted of the *Normans*. This younger *Windekind*, had a ſonne named *Robert*, who ſo fortunately followed the foot ſteps of his father, that *Charles* the bald made him generall of the armie which he ſent againſt the *Normans*: who at that time ſpoiled *France*. This *Robert* was ſlaine in battel, leauing a ſon named *Otho*, who by conſent of the Emperor *Arnold*, had the gouernement of *France*, during the minoritie of *Charles* the ſimple. By the which gouernment neuertheles, he purchaſed not ſo great reputatiõ, as he did in being the father of *Hugh* the great Earle of *Paris*. But *Hugh Capet* the ſonne of this *Hugh* the great, ſurmounted the glorie, and renowme of all the aforeſayde, as well for making himſelfe the chiefeſt of the abſolute ſtate and gouernement of *France*, as for leauing a kingly poſteritie behinde him, the which ſtil at this day is yet vpright, deuided into two houſes, that is to wit, of *Valoys* and of *Bourbon*.

And ſo wee may conclude, that although the Frenchmen, and the Engliſhmen, can not be ſayde (according to the terme of *Charondas*) ὁμότιμοι, that is to ſay, liuing together: or according to *Epimenides*, ὁμόκαπνοι, as if one would ſay, nouriſhed at one ſelfe ſame fire or houſeholde, or as we ſay in French, men beeing together at pot, and at borde: yet notwithſtanding, they may well bee called ὁμόφυλοι, that is to ſay, comming of one ſtocke. And albeit, that this allyaunce bee of it ſelfe ynough clarified in the hiſtories: yet is it yet better by conformitie or agreeableneſſe of the conditions of theſe two peoples: and by good behauiour of the one towardes the other. The Engliſhmen euen as the Frenchmen are generous, and conſequently (as *Ariſtotle* teacheth) farre from diſsimulation, hating, or louing openly, gouerning themſelues more by truth, than by opinion, louing a great deale more the deed than the ſhowe, free in his ſpeech, deſirous of libertie, eaſily forgetting the wrong to them done: and moreouer he

Ariſtotle in his firſt booke of his matters of ſtate. Cap. 1.

Ariſtotle in his fourth booke of moraſl philoſophie. Cap. 3.

is liberall, ciuill, curteous and gentle: of all vertuous qualities, I beleeue there are to be found as many cleere & euident teſtimonies, as there be ſentences ſpoken of their exployctes in hiſtoriographers that are not partiall. For as concerning their ciuility, what better witnes therof can we haue then *Philip* of *Commines*, who had the experience therof himſelfe in the behalfe of the lorde of *Vancler*. I ſhould ſpeake of a thing too much renowmed ouer all the world, if I ſhould ſpende too many words in diſcourſing of their magnificence & liberalitie. Certainely if it be true that *Herodian* hath written concerning barbarous men, namely that they are naturally deſirous of money, the Engliſhmen are ſufficiently diſcharged of the blame of barbarouſneſſe: notwithſtanding that ſome writers being eyther ignorant, or ouermuch partiall, doo diſgrace them in that reſpect. And what neede I to ſtande long vpon this point, conſidering that the experience, and record of moſt noble, and excellent perſonages, do openly ratifie my ſayinges. The late *Vidame* of *Chartres* (who being one of the moſt liberall noble men of our time, could beſt ſpeake of liberalitie) ſaid openly, that if there were any Nation in Chriſtendome, more liberall and courteous towarde ſtrangers, than *Engliſhmen* are, he was contented to be regiſtred among ſuch as ſpeake vnaduiſedly of things they know not. The *Vidame* that ſucceeded him as wel in his vertues, as in his heritage, proteſted oftentimes, that he durſt not ſpeak of the humanitie, curteſie, & liberalitie of *Engliſhmen*, for feare leaſt he ſhould breake open a diſcourſe, whereinto he might more eaſily enter, thā find the way out againe. *Odet* the Cardinall of *Chaſtilion*, had ordinarily this ſaying in his mouth, that courteſie had in olde time incloſed her ſelfe within *France*, but now it was paſſed ouer the ſea.

Philip of Commes.

Herodian in the life of the Emperour Commodus.

This matter would require a longer diſcourſe: but I am a Frenchman, and iealous of the honour of my countrie. *Plutarch* did write, that the great Rethoritian *Molon*, hauing one day heard *Cicero* declaiming in Greeke, ſaide with lamentation, that he bewayled the ſtate of *Greece*, for that *Cicero* ſhould carrie away the greateſt ornament thereof, namely the eloquence. For mine owne part, although I be-

Plutarch in the life of Cicero.

be as greatly affectioned towardes Engliſhmen, as the deſertes of their vertue requireth, yet doth it greeueth me to ſee them ſo enriched with our ſpoyles. Inſomuch that *England* may at this day, euen of good right, be termed a verie Sanctuarie of all ciuilitie, kindneſſe, and courteſie: whereof may be ſeen the preſidents, not only towards their friends, in the time of peace, but alſo towards their enimies in time of war. Of many examples, I will chooſe one ſo notable, as I can not tell whether the like can any where be found in the hiſtories eyther of Greekes or Latins. Among all the battels, that euer were fought in *France*, the battell of *Poytiers* is moſt memorable, not onely for the ineſtimable loſſe of them that were vanquiſhed, but alſo much more for the courteſie and gentleneſſe of the Conquerours. For the Nobilitie of *Fraunce* were there hewen in peeces, many Princes and great Lordes were taken priſoners, and namely the King *Iohn* himſelfe fell into the hands of the Prince of Wales, who anon after conueyed him into *Englande*, where he receiued ſo fauourable and friendly intertaynement of King *Edwarde* father to the Prince of *Wales*, that he being ſuffered, vpon his faith, and vpon hoſtages, to returne into *France*, to ſet order in his affaires, afterwarde hauing aduiſedly conſidered the intertainement that had beene done vnto him, he found ſo ſweete taſte and ſauour, in the Engliſh courteſie, that he eſteemed it more for his honour, to die by ſo gratious a Prince, than to liue as king of the greateſt and mightieſt kingdome of Chriſtendome. *Porus* a king of *India*, being taken priſoner by great *Alexander*, and being asked of him what intertainement hee looked to receiue, I am a king (quoth he) deale with me like a king. *Alexander* making a ſtay thereat, and asking him, if hee deſired nothing elſe: this woorde king-like (ſayeth he) comprehendeth all. Whereuppon *Alexander* had him in great eſtimation afterwarde, and vſed him as he had required. But this courteſie of king *Edwarde* ought to be eſteemed ſo much more greater than *Alexanders*, for ſo much as *Porus* had not taken the armes, but beeing conſtrained for his owne lawfull defence, whereas contrariwiſe, king Iohn would not accept the honorable condition

of peace, which the prince of *Wales* offered vnto him, whatſoeuer the Cardinall of *Perigort*, being ſent frō the Pope *Innocent* declared vnto him, to moue him to any cōpoſitiō: but ſuffering himſelfe to be ouermaſtred by his own choler, he was vanquiſhed by a handfull of men, & loſt ſuch a battell on the 19. day of September 1356. as cannot be matched by any other, than by that ſo much renowmed battell of *Cannas*, which was like to haue ouerturned the whole ſtate of the *Romane* cōmon-weale. And although the ciuill wars be ordinarily hādled with ſo much more a poiſoned mind, as the alliance is ſtraighter betwixt thē that are of one coūtrie: yet notwithſtanding, if credite may be giuē to the hiſtories, there ſhal not be foūd any natiō in the world, which in that behalfe be in ſuch & ſo long a poſſeſsiō of moderatiō, & mercifulnes, as the *Engliſh* Nation. *Comines* who had as much, or more experience of the doings of *England*, as any Frenchman of his time, ſayth that in ciuill wars the cuſtome of that country is, to come out of hand to the battel, & that the chiefe of the part to which the victory inclineth, cauſeth to be proclaimed a loud, *Saue the people*. And would to God, that we had vſed the like moderation & mildneſſe in our ciuill wars, for then ſhould we haue yet at this day fiftie thouſande witneſſes of our diſcention, whoſe bloudſhed dooth nowe prouoke Gods wrath againſt our countrie of *France*. Howbeit, for as much as the occaſion of loue towardes a Nation, whether it be by naturall affinitie, or by conformitie of manners, is not a thing that of it ſelfe deſerueth great commendation, vnleſſe it be manifeſted by indeuour to bring it to paſſe: the proceſſe of our diſcourſe requireth to haue this point more narrowly ſearched, to the ende, that ſuch as call the *Engliſhmen* the auncient enemies to the Crowne of *France*, may learne, eyther to ſpeake better, or elſe to holde their peace all together, and ſay nothing, when ſuch matters come in queſtion. I ſay therefore that the effectes of friendſhippe haue beene at all times mutualy vſed betweene both theſe Nations. For leauing aſide that which I haue alleadged of *Caſar*, where hee writeth that the *Britaines* had ſuccoured the *Gaulles* in all their warres againſt him.

*Comines in his 112. chap.

I will

I will take presidents of later remembrance: that is to say, since one hundred or sixe score yeares past. In the time of king *Lewis* the eleuenth, *Charles* Duke of *Burgoine* being desirous to clip the wings of the same *Lewis* his deadly foe, called to his aide *Edward* king of *England*, his brother in Law, who needed not to be drawen by the eares, to make an entrie into *France:* whervnto he wanted no pretence. By reason whereof, there was then great likelihood, that if the Duke of *Burgoyne* coulde haue skilled to wield his prosperitie, he had either ouerthrowne, or at the least, greatly shaken the whole state of *France*. The saide king *Lewis*, being a prince of more wisedome than hardinesse, considering to what an inconuenience his affaires were brought, wrought so by policie, that a treatie of peace with king *Edward* was had, which was done at *Piquigny*. And it may well be said, that then the gentlenesse of king *Edward* stood *France* in steede of a great and strong bulwarke, against the violence and heady force of the Burgonians.

Charles the eight, the sonne and successour of the saide *Lewis*, was so farre fauored from heauen, as to haue occasion offered him to requite the said courtesie towards the English nation: and hee was as readie to imbrace such an occasion, as it was happily offered vnto him. *Edward*, whom we speake off, being deceased, his brother *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, by wicked practises, and vnlawfull meanes, vsurped the crowne of *England*, defrauding his Nephewes of their inheritance. And as the meane of his vsurping of such a state was strange and cruell, so was the manner of his behauiour in it much more.

The state of poore *England* was so miserable, that he scaped well, that went cleere with the losse of his goods, offices, and fees.

Many great personages of noble houses, to defend themselues against such a tempest, fled vnto *France*. The noblest, amongst them, was the Earle of *Richmond*: who hauing sojourned a while in *Britanie*, finallie determined to recouer with his goods and possessions the libertie of his country. This new *Thrasybulus*, wãted neither partakers nor friends: for king *Charles* the eight gaue him aide, wherewith hee

entered into *England*, and there giuing battell with happie ſucceſſe: he obteined in recompence of his proweſſe, the the ſtate and crowne, which hath remained euer ſince vpon the heads of his poſteritie vnto this day. I would not ſtand ſo long vppon the commendation of the courteſie of Engliſhmen, if in our time, that is to ſay, within three-ſcore yeares it had not brought foorth ſo good and euident effects to our behoofe, as it might argue a blockiſhneſſe in vs to be ignorant of it, and a lewdneſſe not to acknowledge it. The realme of *France* neuer receiued ſo great a blowe ſince the battell of *Poytiers*, as it did at the ouerthrowe of *Pauie*: where king *Francis* was taken priſoner.

The Emperor *Charles* being yet a young Prince, and broiling with ambition after ſo faire victorie, entred into wonderfull hopes, and in manner aſſured himſelfe, that within few yeares the Monarchie of all *Europe* ſhoulde bee the interpretation of his *Plus oultre*, that is yet further. And in deede there was great likelihood, that (the forces of *France* being ſo ouermaſtered) hee might haue ſeene, if not in all, yet at leaſt in part, the accompliſhment of his deſires: if God looking vpon our countrie with his pitifull eye, had not touched the heart of *Henrie* the eight king of *England*, to ſtay the courſe of the Emperor, purſuing with full ſailes the ſteppes of his victorie (An act ſo much the more to be wondered at, as that king *Henrie* had not any other cauſe to do it, than onely his owne princelie diſpoſition, wherewith his mind was ſo kindled, that hee thought more for his honour, to releeue his neighbour that was diſtreſſed, than to be a partner with the conqueror of the booty and ſpoile of him) ſo as, that it may well be ſaid, that king *Henrie* the eight, next after God, was our deliuerer, and that the Lyon hath plucked vs out of the Eagles clawes. And we muſt not thinke, that in this behalfe he ſought his own profite, or peculiar ſafetie. For as touching the profite, beſides that the euent ſhewed to bee otherwiſe, the proteſtation that hee made by his king at armes in defying the Emperor, doth ſufficiently ſhew, that the only mark which he aimed at, was honour and royal behauiour: wherby as *Theocritus* affirmed, the great perſonages of old time haue pur-

See the hiſtorie of du Bellay.

Theocritus in the praiſe of Ptolomie.

purchaſed to themſelues the title of *Heroes*. And as touching latetie, the Emperor being then greatly affectioned to his vncle king *Henrie*, was in treatie, for the greater confirmation and aſſurance of friendſhip, of a marriage betweene himſelfe, and the Ladie *Marie*, king *Henries* eldeſt daughter. Moreouer, the Emperor could not haue ſeiſed vppon the kingdome of *France*, without to bee a partaker of it with the Engliſhmen, for the olde pretence or title that they make of the countries of *Guyan*, and *Normandie*: So that all things being well accounted, the Engliſhmen had no cauſe to be affraid of the Emperor.

This matter deſerued a longer diſcourſe: but I labour to be briefe, that I may ſpeake of *Edward* the ſixt, the ſonne of king *Henrie*. This prince was ſo aboundantly indewed with vertue, & the feare of God, that he may iuſtly be called the *Ioſias* of the newe Teſtament, and the *Phœnix* of Chriſtian princes. But leauing aſide his rare vertues, wherof the moſt eloquent, cannot ſpeake but too ouer briefly: I will touch alonely that which concerned our nyeſt matter.

This Prince by the councel of the late duke of *Northumberland*, did beare ſo ſound and ſincere good will vnto our king, *Henrie* the ſecond, that if God had prolonged his life, there had gone a linke of allyance betweene theſe two kings, and *Moris* duke of *Saxon*. So that there is great likelihood, that an allyance made betweene three ſo mightie princes, would euen then haue brought the Emperour *Charles* to the ſame point, which he tooke afterward: that is to wit, to withdraw himſelfe in *Caſtile*, into the Abbie of ſaint *Iuſt*. I ſpeake not of the kindneſſe that hee ſhewed towards the poore Frenchmen that were driuen to ſeeke ſuccour, on a time when the profeſsion of Chriſtianitie was no other thing in *France*, then to giue themſelues ouer to preſent death: and not onelie we, but almoſt al nations in *Europe* were beholding to England, in that behalfe, forasmuch as their exile was relieued by the helpe and comfort of that moſt holie and happie *Edward*. Happie (ſay I) as much in his reſpect, as that in his ſiſter Queene *Elizabeth*, he hath ſo perfite a portraiture of his moſt Chriſtian, & heroicall vertues. Which is the cauſe, that all they, that in our *Europe*

are

are indewed with a sound iudgement, are desirous aboue all worldly things, either to be subiect vnto such a Prince, or to liue vnder the subiection of a Prince that resembleth her. But I haue not taken in hande to sounde foorth the praises of Queene *Elizabeth*, because I am not able to expresse her rare vertues according as they deserue: and if I woulde go about to lay them forth particularly, I shoulde neuer haue done. Therefore taking a shorter way, I will say onely, that she hath made shew and proofe of her good will towards *France*, as often as the state of our affaires haue offered occasion vnto her most gratious maiestie. And specially, she hath shewed her selfe affectioned to continue peace with vs, (being brought thereunto) as well by her owne cleare insight, as by the well aduised and sage counsell of the most vertuous and excellent Lords, Sir *William Cecill*, yet at this day, Lord Treasurer of *England*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, of good memorie, sometime Lord Keeper of her Maiesties great Seale: Men indewed with so high and eminent wisedome, and happily qualified with all kinde of vertue, that they may well be numbred among the most eloquent, which can duely sound out their praises to the posteritie. For my part, I thanke our most mercifull God, which hath so well matched good fortune with so great vertue, in those two English *Nestors*, as that may be seene in them, the accomplishmēt of the prayer so much solemnized by *Callimachus*.

Callimachus in Hymno Iouis.

Χαῖρε πάτερ, χαῖρε αὖθι, δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τ' ἄφενος τε
Οὔτ' ἀρετ' ἄτερ ὄλβος ἐπίσταται ἄνδρας ἀέξειν,
Οὔτ' ἀρετ' ἀφένοιο δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον.

(riches then,
Well be to thee father, again well be to thee, Giue vertue and
For prosperitie without vertue cannot aduance men,
Neither vertue without riches: Giue both vertue, and pro-
(speritie then.

Now

Now remaineth to ſpeake of a like vtterance of friendſhip toward vs: howbeit in a verie vnlike caſe. *France* hath not in it a greater ornament than the cittie of *Paris*, nor the cittie of *Paris* a greater ornament then the exerciſe of learning, which hath continued there, ſince the time of *Charlemaine*: that is to ſay, ſince the yeare of our Lord. 792. vnto this day: with ſuch eſtimation, that in the time of our fathers, to haue ſtudied at *Paris*, or to be greatly aduanced in the knowledge of learning, were diuers ſpeeches ſignifying the ſelfe ſame thing. Now if this bee a great benefite (as indeede it cannot bee denied, vnleſſe it bee of a man of ſmal iudgement) we cannot confeſſe to haue the ſame of any other than of *Engliſh* men, except we will (in depriuing them of the praiſe that is due vnto them) depriue and rob our ſelues wilfully, of the reputation of men that loue truth and vpright dealing. For *Charlemaine* was induced to that happie enterpriſe, by the counſel of *Flaccus Albinus* an *Engliſh* man (proceeding from an *Italian* ſtirpe) the which was aſſiſted by two Scots: the one named *Iohn Malroſius*, the other called *Claudius Clemens*.

Now like as euill counſel, by Gods iuſt iudgement doth redound ordinarily to the hurt of him that giueth it: ſo contrariwiſe, the author of good and holy counſell is commonly, hee that firſt taſted of the fruites thereof. *Euen* ſo the *Engliſhmen* haue reaped the fruites of the good, and wholſome counſell of *Albine* and his fellowes: in ſo much as that the Vniuerſitie of *Oxford* is an impe of the ſame of *Paris*. But becauſe we ſee, that men are ſo much more inclined to things whereunto they are drawne by the conſideration of that which touched them moſt neerely: I wil ſay, that the wellfare of *England* toucheth vs ſo nigh, and ours them, that if the one of both theſe nations bee beaten downe by the ſtranger, the other may well make her reckoning, that ſhee ſhall not inioy any great reſt. It is well knowne, that aſſoone as *Iulius Cæſar* had taken footing with the *Romane* power in *France*, hee thought not to haue well played his part, vntill he had paſſed into *Britaine*, to make a broile there. The hiſtorie writers haue ſo clarified this point, that it were ſuperfluitie of ſpeach to proceede anie

farther in the diſcourſe thereof. I woulde faine nowe, that ſome one of theſe iolly fellowes, our courtiers, which are ſo affectioned, & make ſo great a matter of the allyance with *Spaine*, would ſhew me the like reaſons and ground of their opinion. I am verie well aſſured that they will not trouble themſelues to prooue any natural affinitie betweene *France* and *Spaine*, vnleſſe they ranſacke vp from the Arke of *Noe*: or elſe that they will make anie account of that which the Poets report, concerning the faire, and beautifull *Bebrice*. The which notwithſtanding, woulde bee an argument ſo weake, as euill to purpoſe, as they know that are skilfull in the knowledg of antiquities, & ſpecially of poetical fables.

Now being entred into this matter, it ſhal not be impertinent to ſpeake of the originall of the Spaniards that are at this day. For we ſee that the waters which come from a ſpring where Brimſtone is, do alwayes ſent the Brimſtone: ſo is it commonly ſeene, that men do carry printed in their manners and behauiour, the vertuous or vitious qualities, of their anceſtors. Thus hauing knowledge of the original, and iſſue of the Spaniards, that wil be vnto vs a good pathway to the diſcourſe following. About the yeare of Chriſt, 717. *Iulian* Earle of *Biſcay* being greatly greeued, and intending to reuenge himſelfe of the outrage by him receiued at the hands of *Roderike*, K. of the *Gothes*, which had deflowred his daughter, called and drew the *Moores* to his aid, vnder the leading of *Muza Miramamolin* their King.

Vnder this pretext (ſo ſure a thing is it to drawe forraine forces into a countrie) the *Moores* made themſelues maſters of all *Spaine*, ſauing *Biſcay* and *Auſterland*: For after their captaines had parted the countrie which they had conquered, they became ſo manie little kings in *Spaine*. Since the Sarazins intermingled themſelues yet further: inſomuch, that if we will take vp the matters further off: that is to wit, from the time of *Cæſar*, wee ſhal, finde that without ſpeaking of the *Romanes*, who haue commanded moſt of all *Europe*, the Gothes, the Vandales, the Moores and the Saraſines, haue beene the Lawgiuers to *Spaine*. Therefore, if of good right, the Gothes & Vandales are accounted cruel, the Moores faithleſſe & reuengeful, &

the

the Saraſins proud,& ful of villanie in their conuerſations.

I pray you, what humanitie, what faith, what gentlenes, what mildeneſſe and ciuilitie thinke wee to find in that ſon of barbarouſneſſe? But,to the intent it be not taught, that I will reſt vpon bare preſumptions, rather then vpon ſubſtantiall proofes and arguments: I am contented that this article ſhall bee cleared by conferring their manners with ours, that is to ſay, their vices with our vertues, and their villaqueries or knaueries, with our courteſies. To be ſhort, this compariſon is ſuch, that if any Rhethorician would beſtow his eloquence, making a long and liuelie countermatch, he could not chooſe in the whole world a ſubiect more anſwerable to his purpoſe, than the comparing of our cõditions with the cõditions of this Marraniſh nation of Spaniards. And to the end it be not thought, that I ſpeak feinedly, for an entry into the deuiſe of their faireſt colour, I will bring them foorth one witneſſe which ſhall make them bluſh for ſhame: notwithſtanding that they be ſo ſhameleſſe, that they wil not willingly bluſh. Whē I ſhuld onely ſay, that the witneſſe which I intend to bring againſt them, is a Senator of *Venice*, yet ſhoulde I haue ſufficientlie qualified it, to purchaſe him credit among al men of diſcretion and ſetled iudgement. But I will ſay yet further, namely, that he is an ancient Senator: yea, and ſo trained vp in the affaires of this world, that the conforming of men to his imitation, is nothing elſe at this day among the Venetians, than to be the verie direct way to attaine immortall renowne, by a moſt ſage and wiſe ordering of matters of ſtate: to be ſhort, it is that excellent and renowmed perſonage, *Andrew Gritte*, who in diſcourſing before the Senate of *Venice*, vpon the honorable behauiour of this good Spaniſh race: behold the faire teſtimonie which he rendereth of their good diſpoſition and nature. The Spaniſh nation (ſaith he) is vnfaithfull, ouerrauenous, and vnſatiableſt of all other nations. And where is, I pray you, the place of the worlde, where theſe infamous Harpyes haue ſet their feete, which is not defiled with the footſteps of their abhominable vices? Guychardin in Lib. 16.

And foraſmuch as in the proofe of a matter, the witnes

of one alone, is of no great weight. I will produce yet an other witneſſe: that is to wit, *Francis* of *Guichiardine*, Hiſtoriographer: a man ſo ſufficient, that the verie reckoning vp of his good gifts and perfections, would require and deſerue a whole hiſtorie.

Guychardin in Lib. 16.

Lo here the record which he yeeldeth to the Spaniſh diſpoſition, and loyaltie: The Spaniſh nation (ſaith hee, in giuing his iudgement of thoſe reuerend fathers) are couetous and deceitfull (and where they be at libertie, and haue meanes to diſcouer themſelues in their kind as they be) exceeding outrageous, proud and inſolent. *Geryon* king of *Spaine* (if we may beleeue the fables of Poets) had three bodies: and although this bee poeticall deuiſe, yet will it ſeeme the leſſe ſtrange, by him which ſhall conſider the Spaniards nature throughly: wherein may be ſeene incorporated together, a crattie Foxe, a rauenous Woolfe, and a wounding Tygre. And let this be ſaid, in reſpect of thoſe of that nation, which are leaſt intollerable: for whoſoeuer looketh thoroughly into the deepeſt degree of them: that is to ſay, into the wickedder and abhominabler ſort, then the common be, he ſhal finde in euerie of them the Cube: yea many times the Sarſolide of this ternarie mõſter. They ſhall be found (I ſay) a filthy and loathſome ſwine, a theeuiſh Howlet, and a bragging Peacocke. As for the fulneſſe of their perfection, there ſhall be found in them a legion of diuels: practiſing howe to lie, to intrappe, and to deceiue the world.

Homers Iliads. a.

Briarius (as *Homer* ſaith) had an hundred hands: who will beleeue that the Spanyard hath any leſſe, when it commeth to catching and ſnatching. Let him but receiue for a day or two, ſome Dom diego into his houſe, & if he change not of aduiſe, I am contented to grant and confeſſe, that the Spaniard hath changed his condition: I ſay, if robberie and theeuerie ought to bee accounted, rather a cuſtome, than naturall in that nation. And if anie man doubt of their ſufficiencie in that behalfe: the ſtate of the Low countries will make it ſo manifeſt, that he will of his owne accord confeſſe, that the Bohemians, and Ægyptians, are but ſmall prentiſes to the Spaniards, in taking and appropri-

propriating other mens goods to themſelues. And ſurely, he ſhould do them great wrong which ſhould thinke that time hath not made them more cunning in their craft, ſpecially in this latter yeares, wherein the moſt part of theſe luſtie gallants haue ſerued their prentiſhip vnder *Don Ferdinando* of *Toledo*, who was ſo great and principall a craftſmaſter in that facultie, that to compare to him an *Antolicus*, or a *Verres*, were a falling into the errour of the ſheepheard *Tytirus*, by comparing of ſmall thinges, to things ouergreat. But it ſeemeth to be a thing reſonable, to conceale the imperfections of that great Captaine, in conſideration of the excellent partes that are in him. Virgill in his firſt Æglog.

For by report of his diſciples and footemen, he is ſecret, well aduiſed, and of great forecaſt. As touching his taciturnitie, I doubt not a whit, but that hee is very ſecret. And likewiſe there is nothing in his dooings, ſpeciallie in his owne particular and familiar, which may not by him, and his, with more honeſtie be concealed, than vttered.

As concerning his great wiſedome, and cleare inſight in matters: he hath gluen ſuch a proofe thereof, in his ordeting of the affaires of *Flanders*: that if the ſunne ſhould as often want his light in the skie, as his good wit wanted in his head, during that time: we might well conclude, that we were at the laſt inſtant of the day, that ſhall make an end to the thinges of this world. At the leaſt, it is notoriouſly knowen, that he was ſo farre deſtitute of ſenſe, that he was not able to hide, not onely the pilferies & robberies which he had committed vpon the poore people, (for that thing was too much knowen) but his trayterous ſtealing which he hath committed, euen of his maſters treaſure. I knowe very well, that his owne creatures, diſguiſing and turning his deedes, ſay that he is remayned a ſucceſſor. But ſetting aſide this colour of Caſtilian rethoricke: I will ſay flatly, that our french tongue is ſo barraine, that it hath not any other termes fit ynough to ſpecifie the goodly gouernment of the Duke of *Alua*, but onely theeuery and robberie of the common treaſure. And therefore if he imploy his pollicie now a dayes as well in playing vpon the lute in *Spaine*, as he did in playing vpon the harpe in *Flanders*.

King *Philip* hath good cause to sende his *Seuerino* into *Italy* againe: but howsoeuer the case stand, the king his master hath restrayned his couetousnesse: howbeit not with rigor, hauing peraduenture respect to the order of the golden fleece, the which, I dare well say, he beareth to no better end, than because he hath first slaine, and afterwardes deuoured the innocent sheepe of the good shepheard.

For we must not thinke, that he, and the residue of the rakehell Spaniardes, haue any more spared the bloud, than the purses, of the poore people of the Lowe Countries. And why should they not, sith they had commandement so to do. And their Prince was displeased at nothing so much, as that they had not handled them yet more rigorously?

O that thou new *Pharao*, mightest by thy dolefull death, soone make an ende of the sorrowful sighes of so many desolate persons!

And if any man thinke, that the difference of Religion, was the very cause of the venemous and spitefull rancour of the Spaniards against the people of the low countries: he showes himselfe to be ignorant, as well of their nature, as of their state and affaires. It is about a hundred yeares ago that they discouered a new world, by the leading of *Christopher Columbe*, who (in mine opinion) would neuer haue enterprised that voyage, if hee had thought, that the men whom he led thether, should like folke bewitched with the slabersauces of *Circe*, haue foorthwith beene transformed into Lyons, Panthers, Tygres, and such other wilde beasts. The *Indians* and *Americans*, being sillie soules, vtterly vnlearned and barbarous, might lightly haue beene (by an honest conuersation and holy teaching) won vnto Christ, as appeareth by the Frenchmen, who afterwarde, no lesse wisely than fortunately went that way to worke. But a man may well say, according to the truth, that the new worlde, of *India* and *America*, was not so much vnknowen to the former ages past, as the outragious and newe deuised cruelties, which these diuels incarnate, that came out of *Spaine* haue practised there. O Turkes, O Scithians, O Tartarians, reioyce ye all as now: sith that there is to be founde at this day a Nation in Christendome, which by their vnhappie

cursed

curſed behauiour, doo go about to burie the hatred that men beare to your barbarous cruelties. But I tarrie too long vpon ſo tragical a matter, the which notwithſtanding I do with ſo great griefe, as vpon iuſt cauſe.

Therefore leauing that matter, which were able to make euen *Democritus* to weepe: let vs ſpeake of two pointes, which are ſuch, that whoſoeuer heareth them and conſidereth them throughly, muſt be of a more melancholicke humour, and dumpiſh diſpoſition than euer was *Heraclitus*, if he aan forbeare laughing. The matter concerneth their ciuilitie, and modeſtie. As touching the firſt, if any man haue had the happe neuer to haue beene in companie of the Spaniardes, and yet would faine be truely informed of their Gothiſh ciuilitie, hee could not ſee a more liuely protraiture, nor a more apparant draught thereof, drawen by the hande of any more happie *Appelles*, than is the deſcription of whores, which *Terence* maketh in his Comedie intituled *Eunuch*, in theſe wordes.

Quæ dum foris ſunt, nihil videtur mundius, nec magis compoſitum quicquam, nec magis elegans.

And a little after he addeth:

Harum videre eſt ingluuiem, ſordes, inopiam, quàm inhoneſtæ ſolæ ſint domi, atque auidæ cibi: quo pacto ex iure heſterno panem atrum vorent.

That is to ſay, While they be abroade nothing ſeemeth more neate, nothing more trimme, neyther more fine. Adding thereunto a little farther: It is a worlde to ſee them at home, how rauenous, howe ſluttiſh, how nigardly, and how vnwomanly they be alone by themſelues, greedie at their meate, and cramming themſelues with browne bread and pottage of a day old and more.

I would ſay more, if that it could be doone without offending of the tender and moſt delicate ſtomackes. Wee haue here ſet foorth the Spaniardes in ſport, as good Apothecaries, that is to ſaye, to make them to ſerue vs for laughing ſtockes at their coſt. And who is the man (I pray you) ſo melancholicke, that could with-holde himſelfe from

from laughing, ſeeing a porter, a cobler, and a carman, to play the Caualiero: or a Caualiero of *Spaine*, walking in the fieldes, and carrying the remnant of his dinner in his byſacke: and doing a thouſande ſuch other villanies, of the which the porters, coblers, and carremen of this countrie would be ſorrie to haue thought vpon.

The Mathematikes teach, that in the operations of Algebar, the moſt equall is oftentimes reduced to the moſt vnequall.

The ſpeeches of the Spaniardes, doo ſomewhat reſemble this diuine Algebricall miſterie, if you conſider what, ordinarily this great and ſtately title of rich Caualiero, that may ſpende ten thouſand ducats a yeare, doo commonly import (being taken a right, and at the very true rate and value) an vnthrift, a raſcall, and a vagabonde beggar, hauing not ſcarce thirtie maluedies in his purſe, wherwith to haue mended his ſockes. In ſo much that it may well bee ſaid to theſe Magnifical *Don Diegos*, as a certaine great man of *Athens* ſaid ſometimes to certaine Orators, Your words (ſaide he) be like to the Cypreſſe, which beeing great and high, do neuertheleſſe beare no fruite.

Plutarch in the life of Phocion.

To make it ſhort, whoſoeuer will ſee the liuely protrayture of an Attalus, a Suffenus, or a Thraſo, without troubling himſelfe too much in ouerturning the leaues of *Martiall*, *Catullus*, or *Terence*: let him but beholde the grim viſage, and ſtately ſpeech of a Spaniard. And although theſe *Sarraſins* race be of ſuch qualities as I haue ſaide, yet notwithſtanding they haue (with the ſhot of their Piſtolets) ſo well dazeled the eyes of ſome of our Courtiers, that they be not aſhamed to mainteine, that wee are greatly beholding to theſe honeſt creatures.

For my part (I confeſſe) I haue not ſo fine a wit as to conceiue the foundation of this obligation, vnleſſe they take it in the ſame ſenſe that *Antiochus* ment, when he ſaid, he was greatly beholding to the *Romaines*, the which hauing ſhortned and abridged him of his authoritie & power, had eaſed him of a great and heauie burthen. Euen ſo are we beholding to the Spaniardes, for eaſing vs of the tedious toyles, which the gouernmēts of the States of *Flaunders*, *Naples*, and *Millaine*,

Cicero in his oration for Deiotarus.

Millaine, might haue brought vnto vs. And to ſpeake yet farther of their good will towardes vs: Is it not a good recorde of this heartie loue and Spaniſh fauour, the which they vſed in times paſt vpō our anceſters (according to their cruell nature) to wit, that when they had wonne the battell vpon vs, they killed all the priſoners which they had taken euen when the heate of their bloud & courage was alaid, as *Froyſarde* witneſſeth? Would a man haue a more euident interpretation than this, of the foreſaid teſtimonie which we alleaged out of *Guycchardine*, ſaying that this Nation is too too outragious, whē ſhe hath found aduantage to diſcouer her ſelfe, ſuch as ſhe is (that is to ſay) to put off the vizard of her hypocriſie? Alſo another token and witneſſe of their humanitie towards vs, may well be the murthering of our men contrarie to their faith & promiſe giuen in the land of *Florida*, about twentie yeares ago. I had almoſt forgotten to alleage one notable and ſpeciall deede of their courteſie towardes vs, namely their impriſoning of *Francis* our King, of the which hee himſelfe did complaine, ſo much the more ſurely (as *Guycchardine* reporteth) as the remembrance of the Engliſh courteſie towardes king *Iohn*, was the more deepely ingrauen in his minde. What recorde of friendſhippe is it that the Spaniardes may alleage vnto vs, ſhall it not bee the ſuccour which they gaue vs, by *Henrie* king of *Caſtile*, in the time of Kinge *Charles* the fifth, by helpe whereof he gate the vpper hand of the Earle of *Pembrooke* before *Rochell*? As if the ſame king *Henrie* himſelfe, had not reaped the chiefe fruite of that victorie. Or as though his aſsiſting vs in that wiſe, was not the principall bulwarke of his owne eſtate.

Looke Froyſard.

Looke Froyſard.

But nowe, as the *Engliſhmen* are anſwerable vnto vs in a great number of thinges, as I haue rehearſed before: ſo haue they taſted of this miſerie as well as we: namely, that they haue had to their coſt experience of the ouer dangerous friendſhippe of the Spaniardes. For *Philip* king of *Spaine*, and at that time king of *Englande* alſo, beeing determined to haue gotten *Calis* into his owne poſſeſsion, occaſioned vs Frenchmen, to doo with the Lyons pawe, that which the Spaniards were minded to doo by the Foxes

tooth. Otherwiſe the Frenchmen would hardly haue reſolued them to ſo dangerous and doubtfull an enterpriſe as the ſiege of *Calles* was.

To make it ſhort, it may well be ſaid, that that Nation of all other in the world, is moſt affectioned towardes the cõmon weale of *France*, that reſembled leaſt the Spaniſh Nation. The which thing I conclude ſo much the more boldly, becauſe I am well aſſured, that no man will trouble himſelf to prooue that they haue helped or furthered vs, either in the knowledge of good learning, or in the ordering of our manners. For what light of good learning is to be looked for at the hands of that nation, which during this happie age hath ſcarce brought forth fiue or ſixe learned men? This is the cauſe in mine opinion, why the Spaniardes (as great trauellers as they be) durſt neuer paſſe ſo farre, as to the *Hiperboreans*, for feare (as it is to be thought) leaſt they retayning ſtill their old cuſtome of offering vp of Aſſes in ſacrifice, might haue ſacrificed them. As touching the ordering of our manners, we may well ſay, that as the Philoſopher *Poſidonius* (by dealing too much with the dreaming dotages of *Epicurus*) forgat all skill that he had of Geometry, ſo we by the familiaritie of the Spaniards, haue almoſt forgotten the vertues which were moſt familiar vnto vs, to wit, courteſie and humanitie.

Pindarus ode 8. Pith.

Cicero in Lucullo.

And to what purpoſe (I pray you) ſhould beare any great good affection to vs that Nation which ſhould take ſo ſmal harme by our ouerthrow: or rather which hath alwaies and ſpecially for this laſt hundred yeres groũded hir own greatnes vpon our abatement. I cut off this diſcourſe of purpoſe to touch another point of greater importance: namely the meanes which either of the Nations haue to helpe or to anoy vs withall. I will ſpeake therefore at firſt of that which concerneth trafficke, and afterwarde of ſuch as touch Martiall actes. All thoſe which knowe both *Englande* and *Spaine*, will grant vnto mee, that *Englande* is much more peopled than *Spaine*. I ſpeake not proportion for proportion, but euen in the whole: notwithſtanding that *Englande* be farre leſſe in quantitie of lande: which thing proceedeth of nothing elſe, than of the temperature of the place.

place. For although *France* bee one of the temperateſt countries that are knowen: yet neuertheleſſe *Caſar* ſpeaking thereof, ſayeth expreſſely of Englande, *Loca ſunt temperatiora quàm in Gallia*: The places are more temperate then in *France*. This abundance of people, is a ſure argument of the fruitefulneſſe of the ſoyle. *Pindarus* in a certaine place tearmeth *Cicilie* πολύμαλος, that is to ſay, abundant of ſheepe. And expounding himſelfe in an other place, he nameth it πίειρα, that is to ſay, fat or fruitefull. If this argument of that ſo learned a Poet be well couched, we may well thereupon conclude the fruitefulneſſe of *Englande*, by the great abundance not only of ſheepe, but alſo generally of all cattell which be in it.

Pindarus ode 1. Olimp.

Pind. Od. 1. Nem.

It may be that here ſome man will obiect the ſaying of *Cicero* in his Oration intituled, *De Aruſpicum reſponſis*. That is the anſwere of the birdſpellers, for behold how he ſpeaketh, euen in theſe wordes:

Cicero in Lucullo.

Quam volumus, licèt ipſi nos amemus: tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipſo huius gentis ac terræ natiuo ſenſu Italos ipſos ac Latinos, ſed pietate ac religione omnes gentes ac nationes ſuperauimus.

Stande we as much as we liſt in our owne conceites, yet neyther in number excell we the Spaniards, nor in ſtrength the Galles, nor in pollicie the *Pœnians* or *Carthaginians*, nor in ſciences the Grecians, nor finally in ſharpeneſſe of naturall wit, the Italians and Latines, beeing of this ſelfe ſame countrie, and lande that we be: only in godlineſſe and religion, haue we outgone all countries and all nations.

But in this place it is eaſie to iudge, that in this ſaying *Cicero* was led rather by his eares, than by his eyes, as well as he was in his former ſaying, ſpeaking of Aſtrologers. And that in this diſcourſe, it pleaſed him to play the part of an other *Mirmecides* in making a great caſe of a ſmal matter. But what neede we to ſtande ſo much vpon this point, ſeeing that the trafick which we haue with both thoſe countries can eaſily diſpatch that doubt.

Plinius lib. 7. cap. 21.

tooth. Otherwise the Frenchmen would hardly haue resolued them to so dangerous and doubtfull an enterprise as the siege of *Calles* was.

To make it short, it may well be said, that that Nation of all other in the world, is most affectioned towardes the cómon weale of *France*, that resembled least the Spanish Nation. The which thing I conclude so much the more boldly, because I am well assured, that no man will trouble himself to prooue that they haue helped or furthered vs, either in the knowledge of good learning, or in the ordering of our manners. For what light of good learning is to be looked for at the hands of that nation, which during this happie age hath scarce brought forth fiue or sixe learned men? This is the cause in mine opinion, why the Spaniardes (as great trauellers as they be) durst neuer passe so farre, as to the *Hiperboreans*, for feare (as it is to be thought) least they retayning still their old custome of offering vp of Asses in sacrifice, might haue sacrificed them. As touching the ordering of our manners, we may well say, that as the Philosopher *Pohanus* (by dealing too much with the dreaming dotages of *Epicurus*) forgat all skill that he had of Geometry, so we by the familiaritie of the Spaniards, haue almost forgotten the vertues which were most familiar vnto vs, to wit, courtesie and humanitie.

Pindarus ode 8. Pith.

Cicero in Lucullo.

And to what purpose (I pray you) should beare any great good affection to vs that Nation which should take so smal harme by our ouerthrow: or rather which hath alwaies and specially for this last hundred yeres grounded hir own greatnes vpon our abatement. I cut off this discourse of purpose to touch another point of greater importance: namely the meanes which either of the Nations haue to helpe or to anoy vs withall. I will speake therefore at first of that which concerneth trafficke, and afterwarde of such as touch Martiall actes. All those which knowe both *Englande* and *Spaine*, will grant vnto mee, that *Englande* is much more peopled than *Spaine*. I speake not proportion for proportion, but euen in the whole: notwithstanding that *Englande* be farre lesse in quantitie of lande: which thing proceedeth of nothing else, than of the temperature of the place.

place. For although *Fraunce* bee one of the temperateſt countries that are knowen: yet neuertheleſſe *Caſar* ſpeaking thereof, ſayeth expreſſely of Englande, *Loca ſunt temperatiora quàm in Gallia*: The places are more temperate then in *France*. This abundance of people, is a ſure argument of the fruitefulneſſe of the ſoyle. *Pindarus* in a certaine place tearmeth *Cicilie* πολύμαλος, that is to ſay, abundant of ſheepe. And expounding himſelfe in an other place, he nameth it πίειρα, that is to ſay, fat or fruitefull. If this argument of that ſo learned a Poet be well couched, we may well thereupon conclude the fruitefulneſſe of *Englande*, by the great abundance not only of ſheepe, but alſo generally of all cattell which be in it. Pindarus ode 1. Olimp. Pind. Od. 1. Nem.

It may be that here ſome man will obiect the ſaying of *Cicero* in his Oration intituled, *De Aruſpicum reſponſis*. That is the anſwere of the birdſpellers, for behold how he ſpeaketh, euen in theſe wordes: Cicero in Lucullo.

Quam volumus, licèt ipſi nos amemus: tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipſo huius gentis ac terræ natiuo ſenſu Italos ipſos ac Latinos, ſed pietate ac religione omnes gentes ac nationes ſuperauimus.

Stande we as much as we liſt in our owne conceites, yet neyther in number excell we the Spaniards, nor in ſtrength the Galles, nor in pollicie the *Pœnians* or *Carthaginians*, nor in ſciences the Grecians, nor finally in ſharpeneſſe of naturall wit, the Italians and Latines, beeing of this ſelfe ſame countrie, and lande that we be: only in godlineſſe and religion, haue we outgone all countries and all nations.

But in this place it is eaſie to iudge, that in this ſaying *Cicero* was led rather by his eares, than by his eyes, as well as he was in his former ſaying, ſpeaking of Aſtrologers. And that in this diſcourſe, it pleaſed him to play the part of an other *Mirmecides* in making a great caſe of a ſmal matter. But what neede we to ſtande ſo much vpon this point, ſeeing that the trafick which we haue with both thoſe countries can eaſily diſpatch that doubt. Plinius lib. 7. cap. 21.

We receiue out of *Englande*, Wooll, Tinne, Fiſh, and manie other thinges, in great abundance: and in exchange thereof we furniſh them with wine, Salt, woade, and diuerſe other thinges: by reaſon whereof it commeth to paſſe, that *Rochell*, *Burdeaux*, and generally all the ſea coſtes of *Normandie*, *Britaine* and *Gwyen*, are brought to great diſtreſſe, by ceaſing the traficke with the *Engliſhmen*.

Out of *Spaine* (I confeſſe) we drawe verie good horſes of ſeruice, howbeit, that is but by ſtealth. And in granting this point (notwithſtanding that it go againſt my heart to do it) I am driuen to confeſſe the ſlothfulnes of vs Frenchmen. For if we would keepe the like races of horſes, and mares, as are to be ſeene in *Lauedan*, our trade with the Spaniardes might ſeeme to proceede of pure charitie, becauſe we ſhould relieue them without receiuing any helpe or ſuccour at their handes. For the marchandice of ſome perfumed gloues, and ſuch other ſmall baggages, deſerueth not to come in any account. And foraſmuch as concerne thē, they by reaſon of the drineſſe & barrenneſſe of their countrie, be driuen to borrow of vs, the thing moſt needfull for mans life, to wit, corne. As for wine they haue ſufficient of their owne. Now remaineth the trade of wooll, & of cloth, both woollen and linnen, which amounteth not to the third part of that which our marchants receiue out of *England*. And it will not ſeiue their turne to ſay, that they may leauie great quantities of corne, from the places which they keepe in *Italy*, as out of *Naples*, *Cicilie* and *Millaine*: for they that flouriſh the matter with that faire face, conſider not, that ſo to do, were but a ſtripping of Saint *Peter*, and cloth Saint *Paule*. *Cicilie* is fruitefull, I graunt it, but *Malta* and the *Goze*, muſt be ſuſtained by that fruitefulneſſe, vnleſſe they intende to make them ſelues a pray to the *Turkes*, by leauing thoſe places vnvictualed. Moreouer, a good part of the fruites of *Cicilie* are imployed in the mayntenance of *Italie*. And as in reſpect of *Millaine* and *Lombardie*, the carriage is difficult from thence into *Spayne*, that they can by no meanes helpe themſelues with the fruites thereof, but that the ſauce will ſtande them in more than the fiſh is woorth.

As for *Naples*, *Ponil*, and *Calabrie*, for as much as the fruitfulneſſe of them is not verie great, the Spaniard can receiue the leſſe ſuccour of them. The like may bee ſaide in reſpect of the Low-countries. Some man perchance will thinke it ſtrange, that I ſhould ſtand ſo much vppon the vnfruitfulneſſe of *Spaine*, ſeing that the great meanes which that nation hath to ſuccour vs with all, are more than ſufficient to counteruaile that default. Heere muſt I needes bring to paſſe the *Quohbet*, which the Romane Iudges were wont to vſe, when they found themſelues in perplexitie for the deciding of ſome matter of importance: that is to wit, *Non liquet*, It appeareth not ſo: But this perplexitie of mine, is ſo much the leſſe, becauſe it may eaſily be reſolued by comparing the helpes and meanes of *England*, with the helpes of *Spaine*. If we meaſure theſe helps and meanes, by the number of ſouldiers that can ſet foorth the one or the other of thoſe nations: the experience, that is to ſay, the verie hiſtorie pleadeth openly for the *E*ngliſhmen. And for proofe hereof, *Comynes* witneſſeth, that the fore mentioned king *Edward*, ſent to the ſuccour of the Duke of *Burgoine*, fifteene hundred horſemen well mounted, for the moſt part vppon barbed horſes, richly furniſhed: and alſo fifteene thouſand archers on horſebacke.

In our time king *Henrie* the eight, at his firſt comming downe into *Picardie* to ioyne with the *E*mperor *Maximilian* (the firſt of that name) at the ſiege of *T*erwane, brought with him fiue thouſand horſemen, and aboue fortie thouſand footemen, of whom fiue and twentie thouſand were Engliſhmen, and fifteene thouſand were Lance-knights: What can bee ſaid of the like in the behalfe of the Spaniſh nation? *T*he Emperor *Charles* and his ſonne king *Philip*, are the princes that haue moſt abſolutely commanded in *Spaine*, and yet for all that, neither of them both could euer leuie a greater power of men of warre, than eight thouſand naturall Spaniards, and yet the moſt of them were footemen. For as concerning the horſemen, the Spaniard may be compared vnto a ſworde fiſh, who hath a good blade, and cannot helpe himſelfe with it. The like may well bee ſaid, that the Spaniards haue verie good horſes, but they Guychardine Lib. 12.

ſerue them with it, more to traffike with their friends, than to fight with their enimies, to withſtand them. But becauſe that the remembrance of late things may ſerue very much to diſcourſe this doubt, I will ſet downe a record ſo cleere & euident, that whoſoeuer will take vpon him to aduance the forces of the Spaniards, ſhal haue no better foundation to ground himſelfe vpon, than either an ouerlight beliefe, or elſe an head-ſtrong wilfulneſſe. During the reigne of K. *Francis* the ſecond, at what time the great men of *France* were in verie euil plight among themſelues. K. *Philip* wrote a letter to the K. which was read before his priuy counſell. I cannot wel tel in what language it was written, but ſurely the contents thereof ſauored much of the Spaniſh phraſe: for hee proteſted, that if any remoouing came againe in *France*, hee woulde aide the King his brother with an armie of fiftie thouſand men. A while after, both the time and occaſion offered themſelues verie well, for him to performe that which he had ſo ſolemnly proteſted: for *France* was beaten downe with the ſtorme of ciuill warre. And although our miſeries did cauſe well-neere as manie fountaines of teares, as there be townes in *France*. So that they miniſtred occaſion vnto King *Philip* to reioyce that hee had ſo fit an occaſion to accompliſh his promiſe. Let vs ſee therefore howe hee diſcharged himſelfe thereof. He was required to ſende ſuccour to the king his brother, who was about to ſtabliſh againe the Romiſh religion in her former ſtate. Nowe to the intent hee might not ſeeme behinde, in good will and friendſhip towards his brother, hee gathered certaine troopes of thoſe vertuous and religious perſons, which liue in the ſtraights of the mountaines *Pyrenees*, by taking the gold without vewing it, and the ſiluer without telling it: and yet were not they to the number of fiftie thouſand, as he had promiſed, but onely vnto two thouſand: ſo that it was eaſie to iudge vnto all Arithmeticians, that this good prince, when hee made this foreſaide proteſtation, hee reckened his helpes and meanes by the rule of falſe poſition. As touching the behauiour of theſe braue and valiant ſouldiers, if a man conſidered them throughly, they repreſented I cannot tell what image, of

the

the olde forworne age of the world, during the which (as witnesled *Thucidides*) robbing and stealing was no shame. Thucidides, lib primo.
The contemplation of these goodly qualities made the Romish Catholikes so much the more sorie for the losse of these honest men: for hauing incamped them vppon the banke of the riuer of *Tard*, those *Amazones* of *Mountauban*, issuing out diuers times vppon them, slewe a great sort of them without confession and penance for any other sinne, than onely of that, which is termed temeritie and ouersight of warre. But nowe for as much as in making comparison diuers things one to another, the proportion of Geometrie beareth far greater sway than the proportion of Arithmetike: that man should not transgresse much the bounds of reason, which should take vpon him to iudge of these two nations (in matters of warre) rather by the valor and worthines, than by the number, for oftentimes a smal number of men do ouermaster a great armie, and treade them vnder foote. I am exceeding sorie, that I cannot produce better presidents of the *English* prowesse, than the great & singular victories which they haue gotten vpon vs: howbeit that our valiant ancesters in those battels, wanted nothing lesse then corage and good will. The *English*men can glorie of nothing more, than that they ouercame such enimies, as were most valiant: in somuch that the Poets & history writers, which haue set out their prosperitie, haue not at anie time cõcealed our valiantnes. To be short, the manhood & prowesse of our ancesters, deserued not to be ouercome of any but of such enimies as could skil to ouercome, euen victory it self: that is to say, the fury & outrage, which is wont to accompany the victorious armes. Let the *Carthaginenses* boast as much as they list of their succesle of *Cannas*: for yet if they go about to prefer it, before the battel of *Cressie*, they shal but shew thē, either too much affectioned to thēselues, or elle ouersmally skilled in the knowledge of the historie: whereout we may gather, that in the said renowned battell (which was fought in the yeere 1346. there were slaine on our side, aleuen princes, fourscore barons, a thousād & two hundred horsemen, & more then thirty thousand footmē. Also the battel of *Poyters* (wherof I haue spokē heretofore) Aristot. lib. quinto Ethic.

yeeldeth

yeeldeth the like record, both of the *Engliſh* manhood in getting the victorie, and of their courteſie and mildneſſe in knowing how to vſe it moderately: the which thing cauſeth me to ſpeake the more freely of their proweſſe and vertue. And to confeſſe the more plainely, that the ſmall number of fighting men which were on their ſide, haue made their victories the more renowmed and notable, it were againſt reaſon, that in this compariſon I ſhoulde require the Spaniards to furniſh me with the like preſidents, of their owne proweſſe and valiancie: for they be diſcharged of ſo doing by the rule of right, which ſaith, that no man is bounde to the performance of thinges that are vnpoſsible.

Againe, I am afraid I ſhould bee counted a forger of Paradoxes and incredible tales, if I ſhould ſay that the Spaniards are not ſtout men of warre, vnleſſe I had ſo cleare and euident proofe thereof, that to denie the ſame were a wilfull ſhutting of a mans eyes, leaſt hee ſhoulde not ſee the brightneſſe of the ſunne at high noone. And to the intent to wade deeper into this matter, and to ſpeake of the effects by their cauſes. I ſay that if nature hath not altered the ordinarie courſe of her working, the Spaniard cannot in any wiſe be accounted among the warlike nations. The nations which dwell in cold countries (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) are indewed with a more hautie and ſtout courage than others, but of wit not ſo quicke and ſharpe: and therefore they loue more their libertie, but are leſſe able to wielde the ſterne of ſoueraintie ouer their neighbours. Contrariwiſe the nations of *Aſia* haue a more waking wit, but hauing a baſer courage, they yeeld more willingly their necks vnder the yoke of bondage: and therefore he concludeth that the Greeks, as holding the meane betweene extreame heat, and extreame cold, are indifferently partakers of both theſe complexions. Now, as his propoſition is grounded vpon a good conſideration, ſo all men of good vnderſtanding will alwaies vphold the ſame: And I dare well ſay, that in the applying thereof, the loue of truth gaue place to the loue of his countrie: for the moſt Northerne part of *Greece*, is of foure and fortie degrees, which is the eleuation of

Ariſtot. in his vij. booke of matters of ſtate. cap. 7.

of that quarter where *Conſtantinople* ſtandeth, as alſo is the eleuation of the mountaine *Pyrenees*, which ſeparate *France* from *Spaine*. Therefore parting the fiue and fortith degree which is the verie bounde of temperatneſſe: marking the midſt of *France*, wee may well ſay that our countrie is more temperate than *Greece*. And although *England* bee as much or more Northerly than any part of *France*, yet notwithſtãding, becauſe it is enuironed with the Occean on all ſides, the colde is nothing ſo exceſsiue there, as it is in *France*, as *Cæſar* hath verie wel noted. And therefore it is eaſie to conclude, that by reaſon of the ſituation of the place, the Engliſhmen are both warlike and alſo wiſe, that is to ſay, thorowly furniſhed with whatſoeuer is neceſſarie to the gouernement of the ciuill liſe. For the ſtrength of the bodie is no leſſe required in executing, than the fineneſſe & liuelineſſe of wit is in deuiſing, as ſaith very wel the Poet *Pindarus*,

Pind. ode 1. Nem.

Cicero in his Oration for M. Marcellus.

Πράσσει γὰρ ἔργῳ μὲν σθένος,
βυλαῖσι δ' ἀφλῶ.

For the power worketh by operation,
But the wit with counſell and diſcretion.

And it wil not ſerue to ſay, as *Comines* doth, that the Engliſhmen be verie cholerike, a paſsion which aboue al others troubleth mens iudgements, ſpecially when they be at the point to reſolue thẽſelues: for that might take place in the time of *Comines*, when Engliſhmen were not yet ſo well poliſhed, as they haue bin ſince, by the knowledge of good learning. But ſince that by the liberality of K. *Edward* wee haue ſeene two *Athens* in one *England* onely, (that is to wit, *Cambridge* and *Oxford*) it were hard to iudge whether that ſo mighty a realme, hath bin more plentifull in fruites of the earth, then in fine ſubtill, and moſt excellent wits, meet for the managing of matters of ſtate. It is about three or foure ſcore yeares paſt, that the Italians made to the Frenchmen, the ſame reproch, that *Commines* doth to the Engliſhmen: namely that they could not skill in matters of gouernmẽt. But ſince the time that king *Francis* repleniſhed *France* with

Machiauell in his booke of a Prince.

learned men, by the meanes of the Profeſſors, the which from al parts he cauſed to come to *Paris*: the Italians ſhould flatter themſelues too much, if they thought that in the handling of politike affaires, the Frenchmen ſhould be any whit behind them. And it is therefore that *Peter Rame* (a man whoſe renowne flieth daylie thorough all the coaſts of the worlde) had ſuch a minde to commend in his familiar talke, the great liberality, and other excellent vertues of K. *Edward* and queene *Elizabeth*, that hee neuer thought to haue found ſo meete a matter, whereon to beſtow his wonderfull eloquence, as to diſcourſe the nature and heroicall vertue, whereof he deſcribed a true and liuely portrature, in the doings and behauiour of thoſe two princes. But the deſire which I haue, with the fit meane which is offered me to ſhew that the Spaniard is no warlike man, maketh mee to be ſomewhat ſhorter in diſcourſing of the wiſedome of the Engliſhmen. I thinke that the reaſon which I haue alledged out of *Ariſtotle*, is ſufficient enough to diſplace the Spaniards out of the roome which hee pretendeth to haue among warlike Nations. Neuertheleſſe, if any man had rather to referre himſelfe to the experience, than to his Philoſophicall reaſons, I haue but too many meanes, wherewith to content him, if he be a man, that will admit reaſon for payment. I ſay therefore, that before this laſt hundred yeeres, the Spaniſh nation was had in no reputation, for feats of armes. And for proofe thereof, I report me to the witneſſe of hiſtories: I ſay more, that ſince that time, looke howe often the princes of *Spaine* haue grounded the chiefe force of their armies vppon bands of the Spaniſh nation, ſo often haue they alwayes receiued ſome great blowe or ouerthrow. The battel of *Rauenna*, and *Seriſoles*, in *Lombardie*, do ſufficiently verifie my ſaying. On the contrarie part, if they had aduantage againſt vs, as they had at *Pauia*, at ſaint *Quintins*, and at *Graueling*, they ought to thanke the Almaines and Engliſhmen for it. Verily, I confeſſe, that vnder the wiſe conducting of the Emperour *Charles*, they were brought to a certaine orderly diſcipline, which they continue, and ſhall continue ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God to vſe their ſeruice, for executing of his rightful vēgeance:

for

for it is hee that both giueth, & taketh vertue, to and from men, and when he listeth, as the Poet *Homer* hath very wel noted saying. Hom. Iliades.

Ζεὺς δ' ἀξετὴν ἀνδρέσσιν ὀφέλλει τε μινύθει τε
Ὅππως κὲν ἐθέλησεν ὁ γὰρ κράτιστος ἁπάντων.

God increſed and diminiſhed vertue vnto men,
As it pleaſed him, for he ſurpaſſed all them.

And although the Spaniards ſurpaſſe all other nations of the world in vaine and fooliſh boaſting, when they fall in queſtion of their owne proweſſe and valiance: yet do they labor to ſurmount themſelues in this ſhameleſſe bragging, when they come to ſpeake of their wealth and riches. And foraſmuch as this is the chiefe foundation of their imaginatiue greatneſſe, I will ſtande ſomewhat the longer vppon this point, and I will make it to bee knowne, that if they had the thirde part of the riches which they imagine to haue, they ſhould be three times richer than they bee. The Ægyptians reported in their hiſtories, that in the temple of *Iupiter*, there was a piller made of foure *E*merauds, conteining euerie of them fourty cubits of length, whereat *Theophraſtus* ieſted verie pleaſantly, and with good reaſon. Such like accounts are to be found in the hiſtories of the Spaniards, concerning the Ile of *Zipangrie*, where theſe good fellowes would faine make vs to beleeue that flies cary ſtaues pyked on both ends. As touching the treaſure of *Perou*, to the intent men might vnderſtand, that their reports are ſet downe by imitation of *Lucians* true tales: they ſeeme not to haue forgotten any thing vntold, ſauing that in the Cabinet of king *Atapaliba*, they founde a whole hundred of Diamonds, euery of them as big at leaſt as an Oſtriches egge. But ſetting aſide theſe lies, which cannot be beleeued but of ſuch as beleeue the reall veritie of Metamorphoſe, or transformation of *Ouid*: Theophraſt. περὶ λίθιων.

Let vs conſider, that theſe riches come not into the king of Spaines coffers, like graſſe in a medow, that is to ſay, without any coſt: but contrariwiſe, that the fetching

thereof costeth him very deere. Let vs consider farther, that other nations, and specially the Frenchmen, haue learned the way to *Perou*, who fearing perhaps, least the Spaniards might perish vpon sea by being ouerladen, do diuers times of pure charitie and good will, yeeld them so much seruice, as to take some part of their burthen into their ships (yea so gratious and friendly be our Frenchmen) that they compell the Spaniards, whether they will or no, to receiue the effectes and proofes of so charitable courtesie. Besides all this, the Indians begin to wax shrewd lads, and to make no more so much account of glasses, pinnes, and such other spanish gifts: peraduenture bicause some body hath made them to tast this saying of *Sophocles*.

Sophoc. in Aiax.

Εχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κ' οὐκ ὀνήσιμα.

Take heed for giftes of enimes,
They are no gifts worthy of praise.

And albeit, all other causes wanted, is it possible that the possession of a thing so euill gotten should continue long? Thinke we that there is any Indian, in subiection of the Spaniards, which in his speach crieth not out a thousand times a day, this sentence of *Aristophanes*.

Aristophanes in Pluto.

ὡς ἀργαλέον δοῦλον γενέσθ',
παραφρονοῦντος δεσπότου.

To serue a foolish master which hath no wit,
Is a troublesome thing and full of despight.

Aristotle saith, that a countrie is possessed and helde by a tyrant in the same manner that mens bodies are with an agew. What a number of sighes and grones, thinke wee do the wretched Americanes (so long tormented with that feauer of the Spanish crueltie) cast forth, which mount vp to the eares of him that holdeth the sterne of the matters of this world? Thinke we that Gods hand is shortened, so

Aristotle in his fift booke of Metaphisickes. cap. 23.

as

as he cannot in dew time execute the threatninges which he hath vttered by the mouth of his prophet against these murtherers, robbers and wasters? Where is the state in the worlde, be it neuer so flourishing, that can bee exempted from decay, and vtter ouerthrowe? Which is the wisedome and counsell, what the force, that can defend it, from the hande of the liuing God? Mischiefe runneth a pace, from house to house, sayth *Euripides*, in most richest and exquisite wordes. Esay. 33. Euripides in Electra.

Αμοιβαὶ κακῶν μετά
τροποι πνέου-
σιν ἄυραι δόμων.

Troubles and aduersities do fall vpon men so,
As God will appoint, And windes be cast to and fro.

The same (and with much better reason) may be sayde of Monarchies also, wherein we may see from day to day, the accomplishment of this threatning, which is so wisely set downe by *Hesiodus* speaking of *Iupiter*, Hesiodus de oper. & dieb.

Ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει
Ῥεῖα δὲ τιθήνει σκολιὸν, καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει.

He pulleth downe the mightie ones from their wealth,
Verie easily and againe, the abiect he doth exalt:
It is he which doth correct them that are not sound,
And the stout and wicked men breaketh down to ground.

Which thing dooth take place specially then when the finnes, as well of the people, as of the Magistrate, inforceth God to breake his patience. The Mathematicians hold opinion, that the increasing of the greatnes of things, which are exceeding great, maketh them to seeme to come neere vnto our sight: notwithstanding that in very truth, they come nothing neere at all. But the case standeth farre otherwise, where God is moued with mens sinnes: for the Vitellius, li. 4. Theox. 129.

heaping of them vp one vpon an other, not only approcheth, but also preaceth them into the sight and presence of the liuing God, who oftentimes punisheth the people by the king, and the king by the people, whose iustice is not ruled by the same square that directeth the iudgements of men, and of common-weales. Wherein (according to the opinion of the Lawyers) *Noxa caput sequitur, Penaltie pursueth the head.* Thereof we haue a manifest and notable example in *Abimelech* king of *Gerar*, who in excusing of himselfe vnto *Abraham*, vsed these wordes: what haue I done vnto thee? and wherein haue I offended thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom this great sinne? Now if *Abimelech* do call adulterie a great sinne, what name shall we giue to that whereof no betrer description can be giuen than to liken it vnto the example set downe by *Suetonius* in the life of *Claudius* in the xxvi. chapter of his booke. And if any man thinke this speech to be ouer darke, let him but read that which is written by the Lawyer *Paulus, lib.* 39. vnder the title, *Si quis D. de ritu nuptiarum*, concerning the ceremonie of Mariage, and he shall vnderstand my meaning plaine ynough: but this is not all, for there are yet in this behalfe, other sorts of wickednesses, as much or more abominable than the other, which they thinke to keepe verie secret, as if the saying of the Poet *Musaeus* should not take place, as well in one age as in an other.

Caius lib. 20. & vltimo. D. de Noxal. Action.

Genesis, 20.

Suetonius.

ἐν δὲ σιωπῇ
ἔργον ὅπερ τιλεεῖ τις ἐνὶ τρίοδοισιν ἀκούει

Oftentimes is sounded out in open streete,
The wicked worke which men do thinke to hide.

Now then, if we esteeme Gods iustice to be vnchangeable, let vs knowe, and be well assured, that God will visite so great and cursed kindes of wickednes, which may with more honestie than ease, be concealed: and shall (how long so euer he forslow it) make to feele his vengeance vnto the Spaniard and his king.

A cruell

A cruell Tirant ouer whoſe leaud head,
The wrath of God hanges readie to be ſpread.

To be ſhort, the time will come ere long, and ſhall not ſtay, that this wicked Nation, which for theſe hundred yeares, hath made a trade of pilling and praying vpon others: ſhall be made a pray and bootie vnto other Nations. The time (I ſay) drawes neere, wherein eyther the Indians, or elſe the king of Spaines Lieutenantes themſelues ſhall rebell againſt him, and ſhall become executors of Gods wrath againſt the couetouſneſſe and crueltie of their owne Nation.

Now remaineth to be conſidered the third and laſt point of this diſcourſe, that is to wit, whether of theſe two Nations being become our enimies, hath moſt meanes to annoy vs: this point may well be ended, by reaſon of that which hath beene treated in the former article, which concerned the meanes which eyther of thoſe Nations haue to ſuccor vs with all: yet notwithſtanding ſuch is the caſe, that if the *Engliſhmen* ſhould happen to ſet foote in *France*, and ſpecially in *Guyen*, It would be ſo hard for vs to ſtay a great part of the Nobility and gentlemen from taking their part, as to burie the remembrance of the good turnes and pleaſures, which their houſes haue receiued heretofore at the handes of the kinges of *Englande*, eſpecially conſidering that the Charters of the greateſt houſes of *Guyen*, are as manie witneſſes, or rather as many authenticall recordes to prooue howe much they bee bound to remember the kinges of *England*. Moreouer, comming at hande with the *Engliſhmen*, euery one knoweth that they haue good diches, large and deepe, and they which can not be drayned.

On the contrarie part, according to the opinion of that great Captaine the Admirall of *Chaſtillion*, it will bee no leſſe eaſie than expedient vnto vs, to ouer-come the Spaniardes, if wee warred vpon them as we ought, that is to ſay, if we would cut off the riuer at the ſpring head, by ſetting vpon thē at home in their owne countrie: which is a land

land very eaſie to be entred into, being both vnfurniſhed of ſtrong Townes, and alſo which can not but very hardly be ſuccored from *Germanie*. Whereas contrariwiſe, our armie ſhould be backed by the countries of *Languedocke*, and *Gaſcoyne*, both of them well ſtored of victuals and men of war, in ſo much that that quarter may at this day be called in *France*, the ſtorehouſe of *Mars*. Therfore although I ſhould proceede no further, and adde nothing elſe, yet notwithſtanding the cauſes heretofore ſet downe, being well conſidered, do conclude ſufficiently of themſelues, that to preferre, or to match in equalitie, the allyance with *Spaine*, to the allyance with *England*, is an open ſhewing of our ſelues to be vnnaturall and vnkinde to our allyes. It is (I ſay) a ſhewing of our ſelues to be blockiſh, and vnable to diſcerne the nature that matcheth iump with ours, from the nature that is cleane contrarie to it. It is (I ſay againe) a manifeſt ſetting and oppoſing of our ſelues againſt the benefite, and welfare of our countrie.

The *Spaniardes* (as we haue ſaide) be couetous, guilefull, proud, and rauenous. Shall we change then, the franke liberalitie, into a ſlauiſh and vnſatiable couetous nigardlineſſe? ſhall we change the generoſitie of the Lyon, into the malice of the Foxe? Shall we (I ſay) become of gentle, arrogantes and diſdainefull, and of milde and meeke, cruell and rauenous? Shall we ſo bereaue our ſelues of the vertues that haue purchaſed vs ſo great reputation thorough the whole worlde, as that there ſhall remaine no more vnto vs, but only the bare name of Frenchmen?

And yet if we conſider throughly the nature of the Spaniarde, the miſerable exchange whereof I ſpeake will euer more be noted as a manifeſt and ſure recorde of our ouer great plyantneſſe, in making ſo great account of that Nation, which after the manner of the iuie hath alwayes made thoſe to fele the moſt pernitious effects of their moſt hurtfull malice which haue beene moſt ſtraightly lynked vnto them.

Now for as much as prayer is counted for a duetie of an honeſt man towardes his Countrie, I pray vnto God, O *France*, that thy preſeruation and increaſe, may be a continuall

nuall mirror of his goodneſſe and wiſedome, ſhining forth in the gouernement of the great ſtates and kingdomes. And that to the ſame end, he may open thy eye lids, ſo as thou mayeſt haue the skill to diſcerne the poyſon mingled with honnie, whereby they go about to ſet forwarde the ouerthrowe and vtter aboliſhment of thine honour and greatneſſe.

All that hath a beginning, hath an end,
Well that man that hath his time wel ſpent.

Tradutta & ſcritta queſta vera pruoua,
Da Franceſco Marquino, com' coſa nuoua.

Iddio ſalui la Regina Elizabetha,
E la doni lunga & proſpera vita.